

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 058915

73

ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /011 R

66611

DRAFTED BY: EUR/RPM:EJSTREATOR

APPROVED BY: EUR:JGLOWENSTEIN

S/S-O:PSHANKLE

C:RBLACKWILL

----- 110267

P 182246Z MAR 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 058915

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 58915 ACTION NATO AMMAN  
15 MARCH.

QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 058915

EXDIS TOSEC 594

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CSCE NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE SUMMIT -- NATO CONSULTATIONS ON BREZHNEV

- LETTERS

REFS: (A) NATO 1435; (B) STATE 58227

USNATO HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

1. FOR THE SECRETARY. IN VIEW OF FRENCH INITIATIVE TO  
COORDINATE IN PARIS RESPONSES TO BREZHNEV LETTERS IN AD-  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 058915

VANCE OF NAC MEETING (SEE PARA 7), WE ARE SENDING FOLLOWING

TALKING POINTS TO AMBASSADOR BRUCE FOR HIS USE IN MONDAY RESTRICTED NAC MEETING. IF YOU WISH TO ALTER HIS PRESENTATION, PLEASE CABLE REVISIONS DIRECTLY TO BRUCE IN VIEW OF SHORTNESS OF TIME.

2. FOR AMBASSADOR BRUCE. WITH REGARD TO ALLIED CONSULTATIONS ON RESPONSE TO BREZHNEV LETTERS ON CSCE SUMMIT, WE ARE REPEATING TO YOU STATE 58227 TO PROVIDE BACKGROUND ON OUR APPROACH TO THIS ISSUE IN ANTICIPATION OF YOUR DISCUSSION IN NAC AND PERMREP LUNCH. YOU SHOULD SUPPORT UK REQUEST FOR MARCH 17 RESTRICTED NAC SESSION.

3. YOUR MAIN OBJECTIVE IN ANY PRE-MEETING CONSULTATIONS WITH UK, FRG, FRANCE AND ITALY AND IN NAC DISCUSSIONS SHOULD BE TO STEER ALLIANCE TOWARD COMMON

POSITION THAT STAGE III MEETING SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN MID- TO LATE JULY -- RATHER THAN JUNE 30, AS REQUESTED BY BREZHNEV. WE UNDERSTAND FROM UK EMBASSY HERE THAT BRITISH WILL TAKE POSITION THE ALLIED RESPONSES TO BREZHNEV SHOULD CALL FOR CSCE FINALE "SOMETIME THIS SUMMER THOUGH SOMEWHAT LATER THAN JUNE 30." IN GENERAL, YOU SHOULD FOLLOW UK LEAD IN ATTEMPTING TO DEVELOP CONSENSUS THAT ALLIED RESPONSES TO BREZHNEV LETTERS SHOULD BE FORTHCOMING, AVOID MENTION OF SPECIFIC DATE, INDICATE WILLINGNESS TO MEET IN SUMMER BUT SOMEWHAT LATER THAN JUNE 30, BUT ADHERE TO LONGSTANDING ALLIED CAVEAT THAT FINAL DECISIONS ON THE LEVEL AND TIMING OF STAGE III DEPEND ON SATISFACTORY RESULTS OF NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA.

3. FRG EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON HAS ASKED WHETHER WE COULD EXCHANGE TEXTS OF LETTERS FROM BREZHNEV TO PRESIDENT FORD AND CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT. WE INDICATED WE COULD NOT PROVIDE PRIVILEGED PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE, BUT SAID THAT ON THE BASIS OF BRIEFINGS GIVEN US ON EC NINE DISCUSSION AT DUBLIN OF BREZHNEV'S LETTERS, WE ASSUME ALL ARE VERY SIMILAR. YOU SHOULD TAKE THIS SAME POSITION IN EVENT ALLIES PRESS TO OBTAIN BREZHNEV'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT.

4. IN COURSE OF RESTRICTED NAC DISCUSSIONS, YOU SHOULD  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 058915

ALSO NOTE OUR DESIRE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON POSSIBLE NATO SUMMIT MEETING DURING THE PERMREPS LUNCHEON SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE MARCH 18. GUIDANCE FOR YOUR USE IN DISCUSSING NATO SUMMIT FOLLOWS SEPTTEL.

5. AS YOU WILL HAVE NOTED (BUDAPEST 705), BREZHNEV MAY DELIVER A MAJOR STATEMENT IN BUDAPEST MARCH 18 ON EAST-WEST DETENTE. WE RECALL IT WAS ON MARCH 17, 1969 THAT

SO-CALLED "BUDAPEST APPEAL" OF WARSAW PACT WAS MADE FOR CONVENING OF EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE, AND BREZHNEV MAY DRAW ATTENTION TO THAT APPEAL OF SIX YEARS AGO.

6. WITH FOREGOING IN MIND, YOU MAY WISH TO DRAW ON FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS WITH PFCK AND OTHER KEY ALLIED REPS AND DURING RESTRICTED NAC TALKS.

-- WE APPRECIATE THE BRITISH INITIATIVE IN REQUESTING RESTRICTED SESSION OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE PURPOSE OF COORDINATING ALLIED RESPONSES TO THE RECENT BREZHNEV LETTERS CONCERNING A CSCE SUMMIT.

-- FOR OUR PART, WE BELIEVE THAT, WITH A SUFFICIENT DISPLAY OF REALISM BY ALL SIDES AT GENEVA, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO CONCLUDE THE STAGE II TALKS LATE THIS SPRING.

-- WHILE EACH ALLIED GOVERNMENT WILL WISH TO RESPOND IN ITS OWN DISTINCTIVE FASHION TO THE BREZHNEV LETTERS, WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT FOR THE ALLIES TO CONSULT AND TO AGREE ON A COMMON SUBSTANTIVE POSITION TO BE TAKEN IN REPLYING TO BREZHNEV CONCERNING THE TIMETABLE FOR THE STAGE III MEETING AT HELSINKI. WE SEE NO NEED, HOWEVER, TO LIST SPECIFIC CSCE PROBLEM AREAS IN ALLIED RESPONSES.

-- BREZHNEV HAS ASKED THAT THE STAGE III MEETING BE CONVENED AT HELSINKI BY ABOUT JUNE 30, BUT WE BELIEVE A MORE REALISTIC TARGET DATE MIGHT BE ABOUT JULY 15 OR THE LATTER HALF OF JULY.

-- WE SEE NO NEED, HOWEVER, TO MENTION AT THIS TIME TO BREZHNEV A SPECIFIC DATE FOR STAGE III, BUT RATHER BELIEVE WE SHOULD EXPRESS OUR CLEAR WILLINGNESS TO MEET IN SUMMER, THOUGH SOMEWHAT LATER THAN JUNE 30. IF WE OFFERED A  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 058915

SPECIFIC DATE, ESPECIALLY JUNE 30, WE WOULD LOSE NEGOTIATING LEVERAGE AND OFFEND THE NEUTRALS.

-- MOREOVER, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT OUR WILLINGNESS TO MOVE ON TO STAGE III IS CONDITIONAL UPON SATISFACTORY RESULTS IN STAGE II, AS THE NINE ALSO SUGGESTED IN THEIR DUBLIN COMMUNIQUE.

-- THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BUDAPEST APPEAL OF THE WARSAW PACT IS MARCH 17, AND SINCE BREZHNEV MAY MAKE A MAJOR STATEMENT ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN BUDAPEST MARCH 18, WE BELIEVE THE ALLIES NEED TO BE ALERT TO THE POSSIBLE NEED FOR EARLY CONSULTATIONS.

7. IN A NUTSHELL, THE BEST OUTCOME OF THE PERMREP

DISCUSSION FROM THE US POINT OF VIEW WOULD BE A CONSENSUS THAT THE RECIPIENTS OF THE BREZHNEV LETTERS WOULD RESPOND INDICATING THAT JUNE 30 DATE IS PROBABLY NOT REALISTIC BUT THAT SOME DATE NOT TOO LONG THEREAFTER MIGHT BE FEASIBLE PROVIDED THERE ARE SATISFACTORY RESULTS FROM STAGE II.

8. WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED PARIS 6720 (NOTAL) (BEING REPEATED TO THE SECRETARY SEPARATELY) REPORTING ANDREANI'S CONVERSATION WITH US, UK, FRG AND ITALIAN EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVES. FRENCH POSITION ON DATE "APPROXIMATELY THE SAME AS THE ONE ENVISAGED BY BREZHNEV" MAY BE DESIGNED TO SOOTHE THE SOVIETS BUT PROVIDE FLEXIBILITY EXTENDING TO MID- OR LATE JULY. IF DE ROSE

TAKES THIS POSITION IN PERMREP DISCUSSION, YOU SHOULD BE GOVERNED BY GUIDANCE PARA 6 ABOVE.

9. WE ARE INFORMING FRENCH IN PARIS THAT WE WELCOME FRENCH DESIRE TO CONSULT WITH US SINCE WE HAD SAME THING IN MIND WHEN SONNENFELDT RAISED ISSUE MARCH 12 WITH CHARGES IN WASHINGTON, THAT WE BELIEVE BREZHNEV JUNE 30 TARGET DATE IS SOMEWHAT TOO EARLY AND MID-LATE JULY IS PROBABLY A MORE REALISTIC TARGET DATE TO AIM FOR, AND THAT US IS AWAITING RESULTS OF CONSULTATIONS IN NAC BEFORE TAKING FINAL POSITIONS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 058915

INGERSOLL UNQUOTE

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLICIES, MEETINGS, STAGE III, TOSEC 594  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 18 MAR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975STATE058915  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** EUR/RPM:EJSTREATOR  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750094-0819  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750340/aaaabjqe.tel  
**Line Count:** 203  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** 75 NATO 1435, 75 STATE 58227  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 28 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <28 APR 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <23 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CSCE SUMMIT -- NATO CONSULTATIONS ON BREZHNEV - LETTERS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, NATO, CSCE, (BREZHNEV, LEONID I), (BRUCE, DAVID)  
**To:** NATO POSTS MOSCOW  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006